

WORLD CONFERENCE  
for  
INTERNATIONAL PEACE THROUGH  
RELIGION

(Formerly called *Universal Religious Peace Conference*)

The Geneva Meeting

AUGUST, 1931



Publication No. 12





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## FOREWORD

THE proposal to bring together leading representatives of the world's living religions to discuss co-operative ways and means for promoting world peace at a great international conference, which originated seven years ago with the Church Peace Union of America, has developed into a world-wide movement now organized for several years of future work. The scope of the movement and the number of religious sects participating has caused the Executive Committee to modify the original plan to hold a single world conference in Washington in November, 1932. It was announced that the Washington meeting next year will be only the first of a series. The present plan is to hold an international conference in India, another in the Near East and possibly the final, conference at Geneva, probably some years later.



## The Geneva Meeting of 1931

THE Executive Committee of the World Conference for International Peace Through Religion met at Geneva from August 12th to 14th, 1931, with sixty members present and with Dr. Shailer Mathews of Chicago presiding.

The Chairman called upon the delegates to engage in silent prayer and meditation for a few minutes.

In his opening address, Dr. Mathews recalled the significant meeting held at Geneva three years previously. That preliminary meeting had united some 200 delegates who had discussed the possibility of convening a conference in which all the religions of the world might participate with a view to applying their universal idealism to the solution of problems connected with peace and war. The question had been thoroughly gone into on that occasion, and it had been decided that such a conference should be held, and 1931 had been proposed as a possible date. A further step had been the creation of an Executive Committee in which the various interests, localities and religions involved were represented. Within a year of the preliminary conference a meeting was held at Frankfort, on which occasion the Executive set up a Business Committee instructed to deal with details.

The Executive met again in Berne (in 1930) and gave expression to the belief that so important a Conference as the one being planned called for preparation on a large scale. To this end four Commissions had been set up, also certain local committees, for instance in China and Japan.

The organization of a conference such as the one planned was somewhat in the nature of an adventure. They had no precedent to follow, and they decided to follow a method which, they believed, would prove of great significance, namely they wished to induce collaboration on points on which the various religions testified to common ideals. All the religions represented believed in international peace. All believed that the religious organisations with which they were affiliated admitted of the development of a public mind and sentiment which would be of

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influence in international relations. Meanwhile they realised the difficulties of their task, but considered they were aiming at the creation of a public opinion which should be of political significance. It was necessary if they were to succeed in their task that the various religions be brought back to a common purpose. The future was more important than the past, and recent events had clearly shown that the human spirit had desires and ambitions which could be controlled by the strength that religion might impart. All the possibilities inherent in religion must be organized.

Further they had discovered that it was not only a conference they were organizing, but that they were setting on foot a movement of common interests, and it was their great hope that they would be in a position to inspire those sacrifices which went to form the indispensable bases of international peace.

The four commissions which had been set up in Frankfort in order to study the preparatory work had the following terms of reference:

*Commission I.* To report on the various causes of war and study the tendencies that make for war.

*Commission II.* To report on the spiritual forces that make for peace and are capable of counteracting the forces of war.

*Commission III.* To study the various efforts made by the religions and religious associations in order to build up peace.

*Commission IV.* To report as to methods to be employed so as to ensure that all available resources will be co-ordinated and directed towards an attack on the causes of war. In other words, the Commission's task will be the elaboration of recommendations. If the work of the Conference is to be fruitful, they would need a definite programme or plan of work, and the Fourth Commission would, in the very nature of things, not be able to report until the reports of the other Commissions had been submitted to the Conference.

Such were the general outlines of the Conference programme.

The General Secretary submitted a report on the progress made since the Berne meeting, presented the printed preliminary agenda, and read messages of greeting and letters of apology for absence from many members of the Committee.

Dr. Atkinson reported that the co-operation of all the eleven great religions of the world has been assured and that six joint



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presidents have been appointed, each representing a religious constituency. The Moslem group is the only important group thus far unrepresented, and it is expected that a Moslem president will be named very shortly. Dr. S. Parkes Cadman, of New York, represents the American Protestant churches; Dr. Albert Einstein, of Berlin, the Jewish group; Msgr. Ignaz Seipel, Minister of Foreign Affairs and formerly Chancellor of Austria, the Catholic Group; the Lord Bishop of Liverpool, the Anglicans; Dr. Rabindranath Tagore is president for India; and Baron Y. Sakatani, member of the Japanese House of Peers, is president for Japan.

It was voted that the Business Committee serve as a Committee on Nominations.

### *Report of Dr. Siegmund Schultze*

Dr. Siegmund Schultze then spoke on the relationship existing between international and social questions. He stated that the 19th century had been specifically a century of nationalism, that was to say nations had then formed into groups. Small countries like Denmark and larger countries like Italy, then developed into nations; small and oppressed peoples like the Czechs, Letts, Poles and others had also developed into nations. Industry had then developed along lines which induced rather the setting up of vertical frontiers than horizontal ones; the gulf between the varying interests was of a vertical kind. It was then, too, that the struggle between communism and capitalism began to show itself, and this had now reached such a pitch that the social struggle in the world was a constant menace to international relations. In Russia and countries organized on similar lines arguments were incessantly being bandied in favour of a war which could develop into nothing but a class war.

In view of the position, those who stood for religions had to consider what could be done in view of the menacing civil war and class war. Here there were three suggested remedies that come under consideration:

I. Prosperity: Attempts should be made to attain true prosperity not for one class alone, but prosperity within the reach also of the lower classes. This represented a theory which had perhaps reached

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its greatest development in America, but unfortunately the great war and the world crisis which had followed on it, had undone a great part of the work and nipped the movement in its bud, at any rate in Europe.

II. The introduction of socialist governments: This movement of socialism aimed at reducing the antitheses that existed among various classes. After the war, for instance, Germany had been governed purely by a socialist government, and at the last meeting of the general Conference of the International Labour Organization most of the governments had been represented by socialists. That was a step forward in the right direction. Meanwhile the radically minded proletariat was not satisfied and that portion of public opinion was backed by communism on the assumption that communism was a better protagonist of the people. In any case, it was necessary to admit frankly that the "socialist" way had not been entirely successful.

III. The third way or means was an old one, namely social progress: If it were possible to develop this movement further it might signify a means of conjuring the present crisis more satisfactorily than had so far been possible. Social progress, however, must mean progress for all the classes of the population and not only for a favoured few.

A question which calls for answer is this: what is our attitude to our neighbours? This problem includes the stand we took towards the ruling powers, and also the stand taken in that matter by the various creeds and religions. What was religion doing for its neighbour, for the poor and the suffering; could religion help to mitigate their hard fate? Class war was very closely bound up with international war, and if we could improve the lot of our fellow creatures and so reduce the dangers of class war, we should at the same time be reducing the dangers of international war. It was clear therefore that the causes of class war must be removed if we wished to prevent international war.

The speaker regretted that owing to lack of time he could not go into detail regarding the manner in which the causes of class war could be combatted. He would not even like to go so far as to say that human force was capable of dealing with this matter and whether it was in our hands to set aside the present distress. It was doubtful whether the forces of religion would suffice in the great task. In any case it was not for the Conference to come to a decision regarding that aspect of the ques-

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tion, it was their duty to struggle against the difficulties, even though they were not sure of overcoming them. He ardently hoped that the Churches would work in order to mitigate the distress around them, and that they would work while basing their faith in God who would direct and in whose hands lay the decision as to whether their efforts should be crowned with success or not.

### *Report of The Rev. Jules Jezequel*

“At the opening of the third session of this Committee, probably the last session before the meeting of the Congress itself for which it is intended as a preparation, it seemed advisable to trace the sources of our movement and to face afresh the aim before us. This aim is so lofty and so important, and the method of attaining it so beset with difficulties, that it will certainly not be unprofitable if we try once more to define it as clearly as possible.

“We wish peace to be established among the nations. This desire certainly has nothing original about it, and is not peculiar to ourselves. It is the wish of the whole human race, at any rate of all *thinking* people. It is the characteristic feature of our epoch. Never in the annals of history have the peoples so forcibly affirmed their desire to escape from the nightmare of war to live in the full light of security and peace. The will of the people is so strong that their governments have had to resign themselves to taking it into account. There is no longer a single government, which does not assert its love of peace.

“Both peoples and governments have such good reasons for this, such urgent and obvious reasons, that it is not necessary to analyse them at length; an enumeration of them will be sufficient. Firstly there is the memory of the nightmare through which we passed from 1914-18. Many previous wars had decimated the nations, but none of them could rival the horror and savagery of this one; no previous war counted so many human corpses, nor ran so deep in blood. When one tries to reckon the dead whom it laid low, the wounded whom it mutilated, the ruins which it piled up, the fields which it devastated, the towns which it destroyed, the moral and material wealth which it

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swallowed up, one is confronted by figures which are simply fabulous, which daze our senses and overwhelm us with bewilderment and terror. Every human instinct within us revolts, and we cry out: 'Never again!'

"If a new cataclysm were to break out, it would far exceed in destructive power and in disastrous possibilities the one from which we have just emerged. It would have at its disposal not only the formidable weapons of the last war: monster guns, giant tanks, bomb-dropping aeroplanes; it would employ the most fearful and merciless resources of scientific research, which is making fresh discoveries every single day. No one can nor should remain ignorant of the fact, that the new war would be the war of corroding, burning, poisonous gasses. There would no longer be any protection against their action. Men would be wiped out at the bottom of the trenches like miserable insects, by aeroplanes ten times as powerful as those used in the last war, dropping infernal bombs of poison-gas everywhere; war would no longer recognise the old distinctions between soldiers and civilians, combatants at the front and non-combatants at home. With sinister impartiality it would mete out death to all and sundry, new-born children and old men, women and invalids. With complete blindness it would annihilate the hospital with the fortress, the library and museum with the munition-factory. Chemical experts, when speaking calmly and purely from scientific standpoint, give descriptions which are more terrible than any of the horrors conceivable by an unhinged imagination.

"How can we help recoiling from such a prospect? Even if anyone did claim that after all these were only theories, pure guess-work which will doubtless never materialize, because scientific methods of attack will be met by scientific methods of defence, I should reply: 'Perhaps; do not let us argue the point, for there is really no need to have recourse to prophecies, however probable they may appear. We already suffer quite enough from war to desire its abolition with all our hearts.'

"For even in the midst of a period of so-called peace, the dead weight of war hangs over us; the weight of all the ruin which it caused, and which we must reconstruct, the weight of all the

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ruin which it will cause in the near future, and which we, in our blindness or inertia, are helping to prepare. Is it not a fact, that the nations are breaking under the burden of preparations for another war? Let us recognize and understand, that the race in armaments, to which the last cataclysm did not put an end, is merely a highroad to war. We must not shut our eyes to the fact, that the annual expenditure on armaments is today almost twice what it was before 1914. I purposely refrain from burdening you with statistics; but these figures are easily available everywhere.

“Statesmen themselves are forced to recognize that the nations are now spending, in preparation for fresh massacres, almost twice as much as before 1914 they were throwing into that insatiable sterile gulf. Yet far from reducing their armaments, they continue to develop them.

“Under such conditions ought we to be surprised at the deplorable spectacle presented by what we miscall civilisation? The age which has brought to flower the most marvellous and incredible inventions, the magnificent development of technique; the age in which was accomplished that miracle, now a commonplace fact, of a conversation between London and New York, in which it seems as if human genius no longer knows of any limits; this age is also the age of the worst suffering and the most painful contradictions. By means of mechanisation and rationalization we have infinitely increased our productive power. We have accumulated prodigious wealth; we enjoy a surfeit not only of the necessities of existence but of everything which makes it easy and beautiful, pleasant and comfortable. We have a surplus of raw materials and of manufactures, too much corn, too much cloth. And yet, in face of this prodigious generosity on the part of nature, millions and millions of men pass by, famished and depressed, because they have for years been out of employment, they are unable to earn their own livelihood and that of their family, and are condemned to a wretched existence, devoid of everything which makes life worth while.

“Hence arise those economic and social crises, which are shaking our civilization to the very foundations, and give us the impression that the end of the world has come. Hence those

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vast convulsions, which shake entire nations, and plunge others into terror. Insecurity is so great, that one scarcely ventures to make any plans, even for the most immediate future. Changes are so rapid and so incalculable, that one is discouraged from taking any steps, having so many reasons for thinking that the course of events will render them fruitless. We live constantly haunted by possible revolutions. Every morning, when we open the newspaper, we fear to learn that the conflagration, which will consume the nations, has just broken out in some portion of the globe.

“In some portion of the globe; for anarchy is not peculiar to the so-called ‘superior’ nations. It is not only in them that upheavals and collapses are to be feared. The menace comes from all sides at once. The civilised nations, in spite of their progress in every field of science, have not succeeded in laying the ghost of poverty. Side by side with the most pretentious luxury they harbour the most degrading pauperism. Moreover they have ransacked, for their own benefit, the resources of the whole world. Misusing their power, they have subjugated the peoples, whom they disdainfully call ‘the inferior races’ when they do not say with absolute crudeness ‘the savages.’ They conceal the brutality of their action under fine words and high-flown sentiments. It is to carry the benefits of their civilization to their yellow and black brothers, so they say, that they have colonised them. And it cannot be denied that in the material way at least, they have improved the condition of these peoples. Everything is not dark and hateful in colonial history. But beneath the veil of humanitarian sentiment, with which they are surrounded, beneath the mask of benevolence and fraternity with which they dare to adorn themselves, there lie hidden hideous realities. The history of colonisation is made up of cruelty, violence and shame. In this field, human ignominy knows no limits. Without cause, without considering it necessary to find a cause, on the pretext of bringing to the backward races the material and moral well-being which they themselves enjoyed, the most highly-civilized nations (so-called) have massacred, tortured and exploited the unfortunate black, yellow and red races, without mercy and without shame.

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“And by a sort of ignoble betrayal, they have lured members of these races onto the very battlefields where they were exterminating each other, as if they were anxious to give them one supreme motive for despising and hating them.

“Under these circumstances, is it surprising that a slow, blind movement is going on in the depths of the Asiatic and African continents? Those who had been crushed are at last becoming self-conscious, and in the name of the very principles asserted by the superior races, they claim right and justice. If, they say, you really came to us on fraternal grounds, to raise us to a point at which we could govern ourselves freely; if it is for our benefit, and not for your own, that you have colonized, don't you think that the time has come to give us some proof of your sincerity? Has not the hour of our political and social coming-of-age been struck? Has not the moment arrived for you to relax your constant restraint and to give us some independence? But to these claims, still timid and confused, the colonizing nations seem resolved to turn a deaf ear; as for conciliatory words, their only reply is a volley of cannon; the subjugated peoples, for the moment disarmed and helpless, bow their heads. But their hearts are swelling with feelings of hatred and longings for vengeance. A collective will is forming among the masses, the insatiable desire to drive out those, who have doubtless brought certain benefits, but who have committed too many atrocities, and above all the inexpiable crime of refusing the right to freedom. So that over there, in the yellow and black continents, immense forces are gathering, forces which are in danger of breaking loose very soon and of flinging themselves like an irresistible tide over the plundering nations.

“No matter to what point of the horizon we turn, the menace of war illumines the sky with its lightning-flashes. Are we going to let these menaces be realized? No one, possessed of a human heart, could resign himself to such a prospect.

“As soon as we wish to set to work, one certainty becomes clear. It is the whole of humanity which is threatened; hence the efforts of the whole of humanity must be developed, if we wish to escape the cataclysm. And here again we find ourselves

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faced by a truth which, after being for a long time contested or denied, is now recognized by all. Everyone now admits that the nations are inter-dependent, that the safety of each of them is connected with the safety of the rest. During the last weeks we have just had a startling confirmation of this fact.

"It is equally widely recognized, that universal safety can only be based on immense co-operative enterprise. Civilization can only be saved by universal international co-operation. Unless the nations drop the distrust which separates them, unless they destroy the hatred which incites them against each other, unless a deep confidence is established between them, enabling them to work all together with a single heart and will to overcome the dangers which threaten them all; then fate will be accomplished, and they will all be consumed in the same conflagration. Collaboration, union, confidence, these are the forces which will save the world.

"Some may be derisive; the realists will shrug their shoulders on hearing these assertions. They are poor psychologists, however, who do not realize that, side by side with material forces and above these forces there are psychic powers, and that it is these latter which really determine the lives of men. At any rate, we are convinced of this truth, and that is why it seemed to us that drowning humanity must be helped by the highest, the oldest, the most forcible and universal of these psychic forces, the one which crystallizes and embraces all the others—the force of religious feeling. Oh, I know that a great deal can be said against religious feeling. It has often made mistakes; it has led those whom it inspired into the worst aberrations; it has set flowing torrents of blood and mire. But it is religion also which has filled man with the loftiest ambitions, and has made him capable of the most magnificent sacrifices, capable of forgetting himself up to the point of complete immolation; it is religion which has filled man with invincible courage and ever-renewed hope. In spite of its failings, religion remains the great universal force, common to all peoples, which helps them over all their defeats, and enables them to continue their way towards that mysterious ideal of beauty, happiness and freedom, whose irresistible fascination attracts every nation in the world.



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"It seemed, therefore, to certain people, that this force must be applied to the cause of peace. Is not religion the force best qualified to create that confidence, to foster that union, to develop that collaboration, without which war cannot be abolished? From what other source could flow the great wave of love, which will wipe away prejudice, dissension and hatred and drown ill-will, if not from the bottomless sea of religion, and from the inexhaustible source of disinterestedness and charity which it brings to the heart of humanity?

"Hence the promotors of this enterprise have turned to the religions, because it is through them that religious feeling expresses itself and becomes active. To *all* religions. They did not attempt to ask themselves whether all religions possessed this force to the same extent; they did not wish to weigh up the value of these religions. They considered two truths only: that there is not one of the great religions of the world which is not in some degree a disinterested force; and that, in the tragic conflict now taking place, every single force which makes for disinterestedness must essentially be brought into action.

"And now we are actually at work; during this session we must take the final steps, which will enable the Congress to open next year with every chance of success. Our task is a heavy one, and we must fully assume the great responsibilities, which it imposes on us. Already, during the course of previous sessions, we have seen numerous difficulties arise, and have realised that the enterprise calls for an immense fund of skill, energy and goodwill. We are not afraid to face the fact, that strong scepticism with regard to our enterprise is prevalent around us. Many people consider it utopian and unpractical. It seems to them that a conference of men of different religion, race and nationality, even if it is effective cannot result in anything but contradiction, incoherence and sterile invective.

"Possibly, this may be true. But our work never has appeared simple and easy. We were well aware that, in order to complete it, we should have to move mountains of prejudice, lack of comprehension and hostility. We knew that we should have to hew our way over the exaggerated enthusiasm of some and over the obstinate pessimism of others. Our work was en-

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tirely new. Never before had it been undertaken, and we had, therefore, to tread an unknown way beset with pitfalls.

"We recognize all this; we even recognize the fact, that we may fail. But the persevering and continuous labour of humanity is threatened with annihilation by the convulsions of another war; the human race is threatened by a return to prehistoric barbarism; the most terrible danger which has ever threatened humanity is now hovering overhead. The human race must be rescued. We must not reject any possible means of saving it. We know of an impulse, the inexhaustible source of that force, which is best qualified to overcome the danger; the force of union, harmony, sympathy, comprehension, that is, the very force needed by the exigencies of the present time, the only force capable of meeting them.

"Undaunted by the jeers of sceptics, the dismal prophecies of pessimists, by numerous obstacles and possible failures, we will resolutely pursue our task, assured that whatever happens it was worth attempting."

A public meeting was held in the Salle Centrale on the subject of "The Causes of War." Mr. Mountfort Mills was in the Chair.

In the course of his remarks, the Chairman expressed his regrets at the absence of Dr. S. de Madariaga, who, having been appointed Ambassador to the United States, was unable to attend the public meeting on the Causes of War. Perhaps all those present did not realize the connection between the causes of war and religion. If so, he would like to draw attention to the fact that science was ever developing along lines of war, and that a counterpoise was needed. The spiritual forces of the world must unite and be directed towards international peace.

The causes of war were as complex as the forces of co-ordination, and it was in view of that complexity that the organizers of the Conference had felt how necessary it was to study thoroughly the various questions connected with international peace and war. To that end four Commissions had been set up. The speaker explained the character of the four Commissions and terminated his address by stating that Commission I would re-

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port that afternoon, and he would ask Mrs. Ruth Cranston, the Secretary of this Commission to submit her report. He was glad to have that opportunity of paying a tribute to Mrs. Cranston; it was largely due to her efforts that the meeting was able to take place. After Dr. de Madariaga's political appointment it had been impossible for him to continue his duties as Chairman of the Commission, and Mrs. Cranston's work had accordingly been enormously increased.

### *Report of Mrs. Ruth Cranston, Secretary of Commission No. 1*

"Those of you who have attended other meetings of the Executive Committee of this Conference will remember that it was at the Frankfort meeting in 1929 that it was decided to organize the Agenda of the World Conference along the lines of four International Commissions.

"Commissions II, III and IV of this scheme have to do with matters for which religious people may be supposed to have some natural equipment. When it came, however, to the organization of Commission I—the basis for discussion and decisions that should follow in the other Commissions—some of us felt very strongly that the reports to be prepared on economic, industrial, political and racial causes of war should be entrusted not to the inexperienced members of our own organization, but to experts in these several fields: men and women who would have the requisite knowledge, and who could present it with precision and authority. It was decided at Frankfort to endeavor to interest such persons in the organization of the Commission along these lines and an organizing secretary was appointed to carry out the plan.

"The secretary wishes to take this opportunity of expressing her appreciation of the great kindness, the more than generous help and co-operation accorded us by the tremendously busy people whom we called upon to assist in this work. To mention only a few of the many friends and members of the Commission, Sir Arthur Salter from the first gave his valuable help and counsel—because, he said, he feels that the religious forces in the

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world are so important in the education of public opinion, and because there has never been a survey on causes of war on such a scale as this Conference is undertaking. Sir Arthur made a special effort and finished his report for us under heavy pressure of work before going off on his arduous duties as financial adviser to India and China.

“Mr. E. J. Phelan, of the International Labour Office, was equally helpful. He got together a strong group for the Industrial Section: Mr. G. A. Johnston, M. F. Maurette, Dr. M. Georges Thélin and Dr. J. Ayusawa, who gave most disinterestedly of their time and attention. No one in Geneva needs to be told how busy is Professor Alfred Zimmern, yet he found time in the midst of his Oxford and international duties to write an excellent report for us. Mr. Henry Polak, Mr. Charles F. Andrews and Mr. V. S. S. Sastri unstintedly gave of their valuable time and energy in the preparation of the complex and difficult race report. Dr. de Madariaga gave the only three days that he had for rest during a six months’ lecture tour, to go over all these papers and add his comments and summary. Professor André Siegfried, Dr. S. Moritz Bonn and Dr. Jacob Viner also broke into their holiday period in order to complete their contributions.

“The results of all this generous giving are embodied in the reports now before you. I believe you will agree that they constitute a remarkable set of documents and that you will want to read them in full and to study them carefully when they appear, as they shortly will, in book form.

“You will notice that five more sections have been added to the Commission besides those originally listed. Certain members of the Commission felt that the spiritual influences of the world (being positively studied under Commission II) could be used negatively and *are* frequently so used as influences that make *for* war. It was thought, therefore, that brief studies of these in their negative aspect should be included in the report of our Commission. Authority was given for this by the Executive officer, Dr. Henry A. Atkinson, and the necessary additional space was provided for. So that the report now includes religious, scientific, cultural, psychological and educational causes

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of war, as well as economic, industrial, political, racial and press and propaganda.

"A number of requests have been received for a psychological section to round out the category and the point has been urged that the psychological causes of war are among the most subtle and most important in such an analysis. The Commission may consider at this meeting whether it may not be wise to add such a section.

"As to the method followed in the preparation of these reports, there was first informal discussion by sections. Then a draft report was prepared by one or more members of the section. This was sent round for criticism and suggestion by other members. The present reports have been revised in the light of these criticisms and suggestions, and may therefore be said to represent the ideas of the section as a whole, and not simply of one or two individuals. It is hoped that at this plenary meeting today and tomorrow, there may be further discussion and that other suggestions may be received which will improve and strengthen the report before its formal publication.

"In the course of a year's work in connection with these reports, and of intimate and very interesting contact with the distinguished men and women of various races and nations who have helped to prepare them, the thing that has struck me as most impressive is the identity of the principles now urgently preached by experts in practical affairs with the principles always preached by the great religious teachers. At the preliminary meeting of our Conference in Geneva in 1928, it was clearly shown (by the representatives of the eleven great religions) that the ideal or principle taught by every one of the great Masters and founders of religions was the same: namely, human solidarity, unity of life, interests, destiny. Co-operation instead of competition. Help, instead of exploitation of the weak and backward.

"These are the principles taught by every great religious seer. They are also the principles taught by every good modern economist and political and industrial authority. Far from being considered 'mystic' or 'impractical' to-day, these principles are acknowledged as the only practical basis on which the modern

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world can be run. The World Economic Conference, Labour Office reports, the statements of bankers, lawyers and business men all over the globe reiterate this increasingly evident fact.

"But the fact has not yet become apparent to the average individual or the central and controlling principle in the public mind. And it is here that I believe the religious and educative forces have their opportunity. The reports given out to the public through the various international offices at Geneva and elsewhere have been necessarily technical reports. And they have been reports by sections; reports of economic and financial commissions, of commissions on social work, hygiene and so on. They have been largely negative analyses of what was wrong, with certain recommendations for each department as to how those wrongs could be righted. Each report has made valuable contribution, but it has had little effect beyond the limits of the small group professionally interested in the specific question. It remains for some agency to gather together all these different studies and recommendations into a co-ordinated and synthesized whole, and to present that to the world as a positive picture and ideal of what life to-day could be—in a world more sanely organized. Then to indicate ways and means whereby the ideal can be realized.

"Without a vision, the people today—in every country—are perishing. They lack the inspiration, the driving force of a great desire and the possibility of its fulfillment to spur them on. All the talk is about war and peace. But what people want is peace not in its static, but in its positive aspect: freedom, security, to develop their individual powers and a more satisfying life generally. How can we get this freedom? How can we realize the sort of world we wish, instead of the suspicious, threatening world we have?

"The reports of these commissions, it is hoped, will throw some light on this great subject."

Dr. Schönfeld gave a summary of the paper written by Sir Arthur Salter on the Economic Causes of War.

Dr. Thélin gave a summary of Mr. Johnston's paper on the Industrial Causes.

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M. Chapuisat, speaking in the place of Mr. William Martin, who was unavoidably absent at the last moment, on Press and Propaganda, expressed his pleasure at the opportunity given him of addressing an audience of so varied a character. He had been asked to speak on the part played by the Press in peace and war; time was too limited for him to say all he would like to say, but he would submit one or two observations which were the result of his personal experience.

He referred to the power which the Press holds—a power that might easily be wielded for good, but equally easily for bad. The Press could work either positively or negatively by publishing articles or by suppressing them. The Press therefore held a most responsible position, for by carefully sorting and suppressing news which might render the international position acute, or by publishing tendentious telegrams it could often constitute a decisive factor in preventing war or the reverse. He appealed therefore to those who intended taking up journalism or who were already engaged on such work to look upon their career not so much as a means to make money as a sacred responsibility.

Religion nowadays did not signify fanaticism, as in earlier times; it signified the search for peace. The Press had a similar mission. In order to attain peace, the press editors had to watch carefully all the news they received, sort the telegrams, criticize them before deciding what was the spiritual food that should be handed to the public. News which might propagate false ideas, warlike sentiments and unhealthy atmosphere should be suppressed. The task of the publicist was not an easy one. It was rendered more difficult by the fact that he often had to express opinions which were almost official; for not infrequently he had to act as an ambassador representing his government or his country; at other times he had to speak in the name of the people itself.

Another aspect which was of great importance was that of pessimism as opposed to optimism. The pessimistic journalist was like a man slowly poisoning the minds of the people; the too optimistic journalist, however, might also mislead the reading public. Once, however, that peace was attained, it was the duty of the journalist to do his utmost to maintain it; he should carry

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on moral and intellectual propaganda so as to bring out the best qualities and characteristics in each nation, and help the various nations to appreciate the good points of other nations.

The journalist, the editor, the Press in general bore a torch which might in any and every country arouse the deepest passions, or on the other hand spread on all sides the eternal truths of God.

Professor Zimmern read a paper on the Cultural and Educational Causes of War.

At this point it was decided that, in view of the character of the reports, it would be better to adjourn the meeting and hear the remaining four on the following day.

The next morning the remaining four papers, held over from the previous afternoon, were presented, with Mr. Mountfort Mills in the Chair.

The Chairman gave a rapid sketch of the work that had been done by the various Commissions, after explaining why they had been set up. He then passed on to Section "E" of the Programme drawn up for the Public meeting. Sir Arthur Thomson had submitted a report on the *scientific* aspect of the question; but, owing to a scientific conference in Oxford which had recently taken place and kept him busy, he had not been able to come and submit his report himself, and the Speaker had promised to present it.

The Chairman then read the report in question.

Mr. Andrews gave a summary of his report on the Racial Causes of War.

Mr. Polak presented a paper on the subject of the Political Causes of War in which he said that it had been interesting to note how the various papers had all agreed on one common point—friction in all of them seemed to arise from injustice, the desire of domination and gain at the expense of others that is an infringement of social justice, an abuse of race, of science, of culture; all these served to develop antagonism and so led to political friction. War, therefore, was an essentially political act, because it was not until the causes—economic, scientific, racial, became political that war broke out.



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An enquiry into the causes of war called for a study of the agents of war, that is, a study of men and nations, for these latter were the political agents. It did not suffice merely to condemn individualism or nationalism, for the will and determination to live, whether in individuals or in nations, was natural.

Referring to fact and faith, the speaker said that fact signified the solidarity of citizens in a nation, and the solidarity of nations in the world. Solidarity had now developed in such a way that it embraced the world. Commercial or industrial enterprise, an epidemic, a change in the currency of a country, a big political event, such as the Round Table Conference, the 1930 General Election in Germany, psychological problems, such as reparations, were examples of a common life on a world basis. Nations were as a fact interdependent. With regard to faith, such world unity as that just described ought to fortify our belief in the spiritual unity of the world. There was a law at the back of all organic life; scientists tried to fathom that law. And equally there was a law behind spiritual life; religion must fathom that law. The outward signs of a united spiritual life appeared in the collectivity of nations which was proceeding and developing. A new spirit of world consciousness was being evolved. Men and nations were bound to obey the law of world life, even if only for reasons of self-interest. No nation could remain free and at peace in a world at war, any more than head or heart could remain healthy in an unhealthy body. Meanwhile world unity should be conscious of itself. Religion and statesmanship had there a common *terrain* and it was the duty of both to organize unity out of chaos. Man was the instrument created to such lofty ends. Reason, order and harmony came to him as gifts from Heaven. Meanwhile political laws were not sufficient; they must be accompanied by spiritual laws, so that life and the world community might be truly regulated.

What were men, nations or mankind? What was a nation? Was it a race? The United States gave a reply in the negative. Was it a language? Switzerland replied in the negative. Nations were historical phases of collective consciousness. Was a nation more than the individual? No. The nation had rights, but the loyalty of the citizen should not be placed above the moral wel-

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fare, nor be allowed to stand in the way of what man owes God. Since the great war there had become apparent a tendency towards the cult of nationalism. The nation was now being transfigured and becoming transformed into a pseudo-religion, replacing God. Absolutism and sovereignty were also being deformed; democracy was becoming as absolutist as autocracy had formerly been. The nation failed to recognize the conscience of the citizen as an individual when his conscience brought him into conflict with the nation.

The role of the nation was to give the environment which was needed in order that the evolution of the individual might proceed along lines that would induce the setting up of a new organic system, leading to world unity instead of admitting of jealousies leading to strife and war. Moral disarmament must proceed general disarmament. Moral disarmament meant the abolition of strife and friction between nations, and to attain it, co-operation would have to replace competition. Ninety per cent. of the world's material progress and 100 per cent. of its intellectual and moral progress was due to what had been discovered for the love of work and discovery. International rivalry would have to be abolished in favor of collaboration. If a fresh conflagration was to be prevented, interdependence would have to replace independence, self-sacrificing service, rivalry and co-operation, competition.

Dr. Atkinson presented a brief report on the "Religious causes of War."

### *Report of Commission No. II*

Monsieur Hebert de Montbrison, Chairman of Commission No. II, submitted the following report:

"I have not been able, since the different reports of the commission came to me at very long intervals, and some not until the last minute, to make a statement on the ensemble of opinions and guiding principles which they contain; that will be for next year.

"I will, therefore, confine myself to giving you a brief analysis of these reports and bringing out the points on which all are in agreement. Then, pointing out the questions on which there

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is a difference of opinion which it seems most important to overcome, I will endeavor to trace what seems to me the way which will one day allow us to attain this end."

### *Analysis of Reports*

"The perusal of these reports brings out the following axioms:

1. It is necessary above all to submit to the will of God.
2. Religion is not a 'means.'
3. Education without religion can do nothing. One must therefore impregnate the other.

"And this brings us to the revision of teaching in general: of text-books, lay or religious, and to the proposal, made in one of these reports, for the foundation of an International Institute for Education in View of Peace.

"I think I can reply that this work is now on hand, that it is going on, slowly, it is true, but steadily by the intermediary of the machinery of the League of Nations itself. I have attended conferences on this subject and they seemed to me most instructive, both from the point of view of general tendencies and of the results already achieved in this direction.

"It would remain to us, therefore, to second what is already being done.

"International meetings arranged for young people are certainly one of the most efficacious means for creating the spirit of brotherhood. They should be developed, but they exist already and are increasing day by day: meetings organized by the International Federation of Christian Students, by the World Union, by other lay organizations; in short, meetings of young people on universal questions.

"I think that each one of us, in his sphere, in his own form of culture, in his own estate, should shape this new generation of men and leaders of men who will be imbued with the desire to contribute to the general edifice by each bringing his stone and I believe less in the formation of a type of 'Peaceman' in a central organization. This of course does not imply that an instrument of liason would not be a great advantage.

"I think that a very true note has been struck here in the

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third statement which I have just summarized, that of the Rev. P. de Félice: *Humility*. How hard it is for us to obtain this grace, and how essential it is in the work we are doing.

"Now there is a question which had been alluded to in these reports and which I pointed out in 1930. It is always, and more sorrowfully than ever, on the agenda: 'Is war in all circumstances an evil?'

"The state of mind of many people, which Dr. H. Grabert points out, and which is one of the greatest difficulties to overcome, is admissible from the purely human point of view, especially when, as he points out, there are too heavy responsibilities, injustices committed, but it cannot be considered from the point of view of religion, or that of the absolute.

"It would certainly be difficult to draw up a plan of action or even to understand each other if we disagreed on this fundamental point. (I draw attention to the fact that we are not here in the capacity of delegates representing official organizations.) We know the difficulties that we experience in getting even certain of our churches to adopt what seems to us the first step on the path to the condemnation of war.

"If we appeal to the **Religious Forces** to create the **Spirit of Peace**, it is because we believe and have the right to believe that they can in no circumstances whatsoever approve the use of **Force** to solve disputes between peoples.

"Were it otherwise, our congress would have no sense. Now, it is, alas, otherwise, historically speaking, but I insist that it is the duty of the members of this congress to see that things change to the extent of our weak forces, and in each of our personal religions. There is no prayer or effort which is vain.

"War is not a sublime necessity, a messenger from God. This belief is considered false by all who have lived it with the exception of a very small number. It is impossible to sanctify it. It is impossible to kill in the name of some honor or another, family, race or country. It is above all impossible to kill under the Sign of the Cross.

"Now it is necessary, I say indispensable, that all religions, all beliefs in an absolute, which cannot be but an absolute of morality and love, that my own Christian Church take up a

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stand in their part as spiritual leaders of men. The great wave of atheism and militant atheism which is expanding over the world, as much in the East as in the West, is chiefly due to this incertitude, to this servitude of the churches to the rule of Mammon.

“Men are seeking a greater truth. If they do not find it expressed in the earthly organizations whose duty it is to lead them towards it, they will deny them. And, what is more disturbing, is that by denying what is unworthy, they also deny their God.

“Do you believe that it would be so easy for the States to keep their armaments, still to talk of war; do you think that it would be so easy for these manufacturers, for those to whom war is a blessing, to go on working as they do now, only for war, if the churches refused to allow their parishioners to live unconsciously in such a state of contradiction?

“It is impossible to conceive at the present time, that one can be a Christian and manufacture cannons and machine-guns. Doubtless, a police force must, alas, always be armed, and even that is a necessity for which we are responsible, but all other forms of preparation for slaughter are a defiance to civilization, a defiance to the Faith.

“It is difficult for me to respect this doubt, I can at the most accept it indulgently. If I have so far been able to remain in the darkness, in mystical error, I can see too well whither this passive attitude leads, to be content with it now. We should seek to unite men in love, in the love of God and of his neighbor in God; it is this which is above all, above the race, above the nation.

“Whatever view each of us may take on the question which interests us, it is almost generally recognized that an era of peace cannot be reached by external means, by laws, congresses, treaties or conventions, nor by education alone. As necessary as these may be to change the general direction of human thought, to abolish obsolete traditions, false mystics, hereditary beliefs and replace them by other conceptions, they cannot alone change man.

“War, we have said, begins within ourselves; there is the origin of the evil: we must first of all win this victory before we ask others to do so or seek to win it in the whole of humanity.

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We all know how terrible this battle is, how weak we are before the repeated attacks of the evil, how we must have recourse to the help of God before we can sometimes overcome it; and how miserably!

"But what is this if it is not Faith? Outside the Faith, that is outside the confidence in the omnipotence of God, outside the humility which enables Him to work in us and through us, any educational or legislative effort would be very limited.

"I will go still further; if what it has been decided to call 'religion' can lead men towards the Faith, it cannot force them into it; it can but be the fruit of personal experience; it must be possible to say: 'I know in whom I have believed.' Up to this point, it is only possible to feel around with all the incertitude that the word implies. And a believer of this kind will follow his church 'out of religiousness' even into the greatest errors.

"It is to HIS OWN FAITH, TO HIS OWN CONSCIENCE THAT IT PAINS HIM TO BE FAITHLESS.

"When I talk of the duties which concern religion, it is of course understood that I refer only to my own religion. The churches which belong to it find themselves faced with two missions:

(1) To bring men towards the personal faith by showing them the way of the truth.

(2) To guide the education definitely by penetrating the problems which worry men in modern life (and lay education will follow if the way is good).

"So far they have been much too aloof from this question, 'Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's' and there was the spiritual life on the one hand and 'business' on the other hand, or else they were definitely prisoners of this 'Cæsar.' But to penetrate the political or economic life of this world is to bring the Spirit to it and to enable men to transform it somehow. The Kingdom of God is not of this world, but if we call it, let it be in deeds, and not only in words.

"It is the duty of the churches to adopt an attitude in this matter, to be absolutely free to do so, and to point out to men, whose guides they pretend to be, the wrong path which they are following.

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“‘War’ with cannons and machine-guns is only the corollary, the monstrous fruit of many other forms of war carried on in the so-called peace time.

“The present conception of the world, that of the white civilization based on the present capitalistic system leads inevitably to war. Capital which should serve man has made a slave of him and has chained him to an entirely economic comprehension of the world. For the sake of ‘business,’ and not always for private greed, but for business itself, for the pleasure of an active life: to what extent does the real interest of humanity come into this activity?

“And it is ‘rationalization’ to the extreme, the struggle for independence and supremacy instead of brotherly interdependent relations and then comes unemployment.

“‘Utilitarianism’ is now the only notion with regard to the colonies and not the ‘duty’ of the civilizing nation in its highest sense. And so it is that the uncivilized man is often nearer the truth than those who come to him with their science which points to the wrong direction.

“It is the ‘deification of the state’ with its two fundamental untruths as Mr. Edmond Dumétil so well described in the review of social christianism:

“‘A lie against the human brotherhood’: you are members of a special race superior to the others, they say to the nationals of a country in contradiction with the teachings of science and religion which proclaim our kinship.

“‘A lie against the divine paternity’: God becomes national. Cæsar on the coin which has been rendered him has sought to monopolize God. Thus God protects only your chosen race.

“And the inevitable consequences of these lies:

1. No love for your neighbour: every stranger is in advance an opponent, if not an enemy.

2. Prestige instead of service: we must choose, said an English writer, between social progress and armaments; it is impossible to lead them together.

3. The ruin of morals: our ideas on many questions would become clearer if we definitely recognised this truth; we have two religions. Primitive man had only one, and that of the distant future has only one. These two religions contradict each other. . . . They

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correspond to two series of social needs: society must on the one hand protect itself against external foes, and on the other hand its members must help each other . . . to-day the same words of praise are not rendered to the code which dictates hatred as to that which orders love; the latter occupies the place of honour. But the code of hate is in reality revered as much, if not more. Almost all men believe as a matter of fact in the religion of hatred; and as for the religion of love, the greater part only believe that they believe in it.

“And so, though paying tribute to evangelical ideas, care is taken not to apply them beyond the limits of the family, of the class or the nation in the teaching of economics or history. Thus goodness is prevented from reaching to all that is human, by being kept for the profit of a social group.

“The States will shortly be convoked to a Disarmament Conference. At the present moment, I know that to avoid unemployment, certain factories are working without stopping for armaments . . . every day one hundred and fifty vehicles of war, armoured cars, cannon tractors, tanks, without counting motors for aviation, are manufactured. They no longer know what to do with this material and to dispose of the surplus of this deadly production, arrangements have been made with other countries . . . these aerial armaments which are indispensable in modern warfare are supplied to these countries in series.

“Is it necessary to mention the method that is used to float loans in all the countries of the world? It is a secret from no one; even as an advertisement, it is stated that the money will remain in the country as counter value to heavy iron and steel supplies. We know what that means.

“But this is enough to make one giddy, and we understand why it is useless to build houses to replace slums, why it is so difficult to have the strict minimum, I do not even say the necessary sums for hospitals, laboratories or education . . . what for!

“But we must not think of war such as we have known it, that will exist no more, but of the terrible era of anarchy and destruction which will follow closely on the first attempt of this madness.

“‘The Other’ waits; for the Christians crucify their Saviour again. . . .



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“Is it possible that there exists a solution to this gloomy and complicated problem? Yes, indeed. It is in the constant search for spirituality, of the spiritual solution of the human problem which must overcome and then direct the economic problem.

“‘Anyhow,’ said the Rev. Wilhelm Menn, in an excellent analysis of the rationalization problem, ‘it is useless to ask mankind to slow down, even to stop its efforts in this direction by renouncing all material claims and the desires for civilisation which have been made for its existence. But it is the duty of the church to point out the dangers with which we find ourselves confronted and above all the chief danger, that of a conscience convinced that it can alone solve the supreme problems of life.’

“In the long run, the State itself can no longer refuse to rationalise relations going in a direction opposite to its own, by including in this reform the limits of its power . . .”

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“The root of the evil from which we suffer resides in the freedom of man.

“And the church must teach man the depth of this liberty, the tragic aspect of this liberty, the absolute necessity of a choice. Then after this choice, and in a new liberty, the help that he can receive from his Creator.

“It is from this deep internal change of some men that peace will be born. **It Will Not Be Born Otherwise.**

“It would be the same as to believe that by decrees, laws, barriers and conventions, the original sin could be overcome.

“And since I am speaking here to my friends in the Spirit, allow me to say in conclusion that it is not my Christianity that I wish to bring, but the assurance that the love of Christ awaits all men, and can be for each of them an endless source of perfect joys, of radiating hopes, of certitudes and consolations.

### *Report of Commission No. III*

Pastor Jézéquel, as secretary of Commission III, presented a report, as the Chairman, Professor J. W. Hauer, had resigned the chairmanship and was unable to attend the meeting.

He said that his report was but short. This was partly due

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to the fact that the Third Commission had not been able to proceed very far in its work; firstly because it had lost its Chairman, Professor Hauer, who had resigned for reasons of health, and secondly because the task of the Commission was enormous. He paid a tribute to the work done by the First and Second Commissions, but pointed out that their work did not directly affect the present Conference; that was to say other organizations might have done work on those lines, while the Third Commission was entrusted with a task which fell specifically within the competence of the Conference; that was they had to study the efforts made by the various religions to establish concord and peace between races and nations.

When the Third Commission had been set up at Berne in the preceding year, it had been realized that in order to fulfil its task it would have to undertake a vast enquiry and find out what was the attitude adopted by the various religions in the matter of war and peace. In the case of the Christian religions, Catholic, Protestant and Orthodox, this was not so difficult as in the case of the other religions. Few of the others were organised or hierarchised with regard to unity of doctrine. They represented the aspirations of millions of people somewhat sporadically situated in extensive territories, and it was not easy to determine their attitude with regard to specific questions, particularly as very often they did not even know to whom to turn for information concerning those attitudes.

Meanwhile certain positive work had been done. The enquiry had been started on, and a number of men of standing in the various religions had been communicated with. First of all it had been necessary to make a list of the people who were to be addressed in the matter. The Commission had considered the possibility of addressing European specialists alone; also in the matter of Eastern religions. That, however, had seemed a somewhat indirect method of proceeding and it had been finally decided that the Commission should address representatives of the religions regarding which information was needed. Here again fresh difficulties arose. Buddhism, for instance, was split into many sections, the faith was held over wide areas, and it was easy to see, in view of all these difficulties, why it was the

Third Commission was not in a position to report fully or finally.

The Commission had met that morning and certain measures had been taken to ensure the enquiry being continued.

M. Jézéquel then referred to reports that had been received from India concerning new movements there, also a report from a representative of the Sufi movement. Other reports which had been received were still under consideration, and later the Commission hoped to be able to compile a document which would give a picture of the problem of peace and war as it appeared in all the reports which had been submitted. More time would be needed for this, and there seemed little point in having a discussion on the matter as long as the material before them was still so vague. Meanwhile he would be glad if those present would give any information they might hold with regard to possible sources of further literary or other material on the subject, names of people who could be useful to the commission by supplying information. In that way a useful and interesting exchange of views might take place then and there.

### *Report of Commission No. IV*

The Chairman, Dr. Mathews, observed that the terms of reference of the Fourth Commission called for the elaboration of recommendations which might indicate a useful programme for the Conference. If those recommendations were to be comprehensive and represent an intelligent survey or review of the entire field of work, they would have to wait until the report of the Third Commission had been submitted. Meanwhile he would like to make a few suggestions concerning points on which it would be useful to have further information. Among these points were the following:

1. What is the teaching of any one of these religions with reference to international peace?
2. Does the religion in question have prayers or services dealing with international peace? If so, copies are asked for.
3. Have any of the religious organisations passed resolutions on international peace? If so, please quote them.
4. Has any religion within it organisations working for international peace? If so, what are they?

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5. How does a religion contribute indirectly to the cause of international peace? For instance, in the development of a spiritual attitude:

- a.) As regards interest in social justice.
- b.) As regards interest in racial relations.

Those questions, the Chairman added, could be supplemented by others and thus definite information would be obtained, and he believed that they would find more interest than they expected in the matter of international peace.

An interesting and informative discussion followed.

The following resolution was unanimously adopted:

“That the Chairman and the Secretary of the Conference be instructed to enter into negotiations with the friends of the Congress in and around Geneva to make such plans as may be possible to hold a great meeting in Geneva at a suitable date before the convening of the Disarmament Conference.”

In the evening a public meeting was held in the Salle Centrale at which the general subject discussed was “Disarmament as a Moral Problem.”

A large audience attended.

### *Report of Business Committee*

The General Secretary submitted the following recommendations of the Business Committee which were adopted:

1. That the Rev. K. Kodaira, of Japan, Mr. K. Natarajan of Bombay, and Professor S. Radakrishnan of Calcutta, be added to the Business Committee, and that three others be appointed by the Chairman.

2. That five members constitute a quorum.

3. That the reports of the Commissions be printed and circulated in provisional form before the Washington Conference and become final after submission to and approval by the Conference.

4. That the report of the Political Section of Commission I be referred back to that Commission.

5. That the chairmanship of Commission I be left in the hands of the Secretary, Mrs. Cranston, in consultation with Dr. Atkinson.

6. That Professor Hermann Neander of Sweden be invited to serve as chairman of Commission III, and that he be elected.

The General Secretary sketched a draft programme for the Washington meeting. This was adopted with the provision that the details be left to the Business Committee.

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7. It was unanimously voted that the Washington Conference to be held in 1932 should be a Regional Conference, sponsored by the American Committee, and that the American Committee be authorized to make all the arrangements and invite as many or as few foreign guests as in its judgment shall be wise and possible, it being understood that the American Committee will confer with the Committee on Programs and the Executive Committee and keep them informed of its arrangements. The invitation of the Washington Bi-Centennial Committee to hold the Conference in Washington, D. C., was read, and in accepting it, the following resolution was adopted:

"This Executive Committee, representing members of all the major religions, recognizes the appropriateness of holding this international and interreligious conference in connection with events honoring the memory of the Father of the Great American Republic. It welcomes this opportunity to demonstrate that the peoples of the world are no longer remotely separated and that, regardless of race, nationality and creed, the desire for peace has united all mankind in a common purpose."

At this point the Chairman introduced Professor Liang of the University of Peking to the meeting, and it was unanimously voted that he should be made a member of the Committee.

On the motion of Dr. Rhonnda Williams, it was voted to send a message to the Chairman of the Disarmament Conference.

This was agreed to, as follows:

"To the Rt. Hon. Arthur Henderson,  
Foreign Office,  
London.

"The Executive Committee of the World Conference for International Peace through Religion, meeting in Geneva, August 14th, and consisting of 69 members coming from France, Germany, United States, Britain, Austria, Switzerland, India, China and Japan, and representing eleven religions, passed the following resolution, proposed by Dr. Rhonnda Williams, seconded by Mr. Arthur Porritt.

'We desire to convey to Mr. Arthur Henderson, as Chairman of the World Disarmament Conference, our united prayer that definite steps towards disarmament shall result from the Conference in February, 1932. The representatives of each of these religions have given assurances that their faith, properly interpreted, calls for peace and goodwill among all mankind, and have expressed their abhorrence of international war.'

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“Arrangements are being made for the holding of a great meeting in Geneva on the eve of the Disarmament Conference, at which representatives of all the world religions will speak on Disarmament as a moral obligation.

Signed Shailer Mathews,  
Chairman.  
Henry A. Atkinson,  
Secretary.”

The following resolution was then moved:

“That the Business Committee be empowered to take necessary action if for any reason it seems advisable to change the place of meeting of the Conference.”

Votes of thanks were then passed to the Local Committee; to Baroness van Hogendorf for her hospitality in entertaining the members on Tuesday evening, the 11th; to Dr. Shailer Mathews for his services as Chairman; and to Miss Clara Baumann for her services as interpreter.

### *Japanese Committee*

The Rev. K. Kodaira gave a full report on the activities of the Japanese Committee, speaking in detail of the Regional Conference held in Tokio in May, 1931. (A report of this Conference is being prepared and will be published at an early date.)

### *All India Committee*

A letter and memorandum from Mr. A. A. Paul, of Madras, India, the Secretary of the All India Committee, was read. Mr. Paul's practical suggestions for the Conference were as follows:

“As far as India is concerned, the thing that is most needed for the creation of peace and understanding is the need for inter-religious understanding. The whole trouble in India is that each person considers the other belonging to some other religion a heathen, or a Kaffir or a Mlecha (untouchable). To put it more clearly:

“The average Christian thinks of everybody else as a ‘heathen’; the average Mussalman considers everybody else a ‘Kaffir’; and the average Hindu considers everybody else a ‘Mlecha’ or untouchable. This deep-rooted contempt for the other man is the root cause of all the misunderstanding in

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India, and her misunderstandings regarding other nationals, especially Western nationals. Unless this is replaced by respect and appreciation of one another's religions, there is no hope of lasting peace and good will established.

"I want the Committee in Geneva to appreciate this fact deeply. What we have to do is to try and help in the removal of this kind of misunderstanding. The claim to superiority, and the resultant arrogance is considerably responsible for the lack of peace in the world. So that in all our programme we have to bear this in mind and plan our programme in such a way as to make people realize that we respect one another's convictions and beliefs, though we do not say that they are right in their view of life. There is neither the question of superiority nor inferiority nor even of equality. The fact that all religions are invited to and represented at the Conference, does not mean that the Conference considers all religions as equally good and equally true. There is no question of equality at all.

"To illustrate my point: The fact that all Protestant Christian denominations are officially co-operating in the International Council of Missions, does not mean that the Council considers all denominations represented in it are *equally* representative of the Christian truth. The idea behind inter-religious co-operation is somewhat akin to inter-denominational co-operation.

"I hope that the Meeting in Geneva will give this matter some consideration and plan the programme of its work to create this atmosphere of appreciation and toleration between one another."

### *Address of Sir Francis Younghusband*

Sir Francis Younghusband addressed the Committee. In part he said:

"The more I think over this great question of Peace and War the more convinced I am of the *value* of this movement we are starting. When everything has been said about the *causes* of war and the *remedy* for war it all comes down to this—both *cause* and *remedy* are a matter of the spirit. At bottom it is a

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bad spirit that causes war and the only true remedy is to transform the bad spirit into a good one. That is the root of the matter. Whether it be among industrial workers discontented with their lot and envious of the slothful rich, or whether it be among ambitious statesmen eager for more power, what is needed to prevent war is a change in spirit. If competition could be turned into collaboration and rivalry into emulation, as more than one speaker has suggested, we might hope for peace. It is an affair of the spirit.

“But the affairs of the spirit are the affairs of religion. It is to religion above all that we must look to effect the change. For religion has greater spiritual resources at its disposal than any other agency. And we must look not only to the Christian religion but to all religions. For they all stand for peace. There is not a religion in the world that does not inculcate goodwill between man and man. There have been wars of religion. But, as Professor Zimmern impressed upon us, they have not been made by men of religion, but by men using religion as an instrument for their own ambitious ends. The saints of every religion have preached peace. Hence the value of this organisation in endeavouring to get together the forces of all religions in the service of peace—not only the Christian religion but all religions.

“But if it is to be effective in this matter, religion itself must march with the times. So far it has dealt with individuals. Now it must deal with nations as well. It must teach nations how to behave themselves in the great community of nations. The principles it applies to the conduct of individuals it must apply to the conduct of nations. It must make a nation love its neighbour as itself, and do unto others as it would that others should do unto it.

“And nothing but the force and impetus and authority of religion can do this—nothing but the conviction that the world is divinely ordered—that men and nations of men are all imbued with the spirit of God, are all partakers of the Divine nature, and are all therefore in closest spiritual kinship with one another, and are agents and instruments of God in carrying out the Divine Purpose, can effect the great end.

“Dr. Siegmund-Schultze said at the conclusion of his address



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that for the accomplishment of our aim we must have faith in God. And I take what he means is that,—that we must have faith that there is a Power at work in the world making for harmonious co-operation between men and nations.

“And in this faith we will sharpen our intelligence to its finest edge to ascertain what is truly best, not only for our own particular selves and for our particular nation, but for humanity as a whole, and for the whole community of nations. And we may be sure that in the welfare of the whole the individual will find his own highest good, and that the whole will find in the welfare of the individuals who compose it, its highest good. The individual (man or nation) will work for the whole (nation or community of nations) but the whole (nation or community of nations) will, on its part, work for the welfare of its component members. The whole and part will work reciprocally for one another’s welfare. This I regard as a fundamental principle.

“I would combine with this another principle. Dr. Schultze has referred to the verticle cleavage between nations. But there is also going on under our eyes a horizontal building process which is tending to keep the nations in unity. Though the sentiment of nationality has never been so strong and widespread as at the present time, there have, on the other hand, never been so many international conferences and congresses. There are international conferences of the leading statesmen. There are international conferences of men of religion and men of science. Lawyers of the different nations meet together in conference. So do geographers. And international labour conferences were frequent even before the war. Then we have our own particular Conference. All these are signs and examples of a binding process which should go to counteract the cleaving effects of nationality run to excess. The sentiment of nationality will preserve the individuality of a nation—these international conferences will conserve the unity of the whole.

“And the whole community of nations and each nation which goes to compose the community and each individual which goes to compose the nation, will have to realise that all are parts and members of the only truly real whole—the whole universe; that they are actuated by the Spirit of that Whole (the Spirit

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usually called God); and that they must, on pain of disaster if they fail, act in conformity with that Spirit—or in other words do the will of God.

“But to act in conformity with the Spirit of the Universe, man requires the sternest self-discipline and the most intelligent and careful training. For nations and individuals to live together in harmony, to bear goodwill towards one another, to be ready to sacrifice themselves for the good of the whole, to bear themselves with grace and humility, with courtesy and urbanity, the most concentrated and prolonged effort is necessary. And it is to this fundamentally essential and most practical of all the work, that this Conference would hope to get religious leaders and religious bodies of all the great religions to devote their special attention.

“And if such an organisation as this were to make a particular and earnest appeal to their religious leaders and bodies to address themselves whole-heartedly to their task, who can doubt that they would gladly respond? Let us then as a result of all our deliberations, formulate an appeal showing so clearly the practical and most valuable results which we believe would follow from responding to it, no one would be able to resist acceding. Then we would have all the forces of religion throughout the world working to the one great end of concord.

“May I add one word? We are rather prone to think of ourselves on one side and God on the other—to thinking of ourselves as working away at this or that object and of God as looking on from afar, and as approving or disapproving of what we do. But is he not rather working in the very midst of us—in the very midst of us here in this room as we strive earnestly after the best? Could we not see Him working even in the very midst of the Great War? Did not the very pains of that awful war force humanity, as perhaps nothing else could, to bring to birth a real community of nations? I know that in my own country our Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith, said that a partnership of nations must be the eventual result of the war. And even Napoleon a hundred years ago, had said that war was an anachronism and that in the end there must be a League of Nations

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"We have ample evidence that what we are working for is what God is working for. And in that assurance we may go forward on our task confident that He is ever with us."

### *The Closing Address of Rev. William P. Merrill, D. D.*

"No need of words to convince us of the size, difficulty and possibilities of such a task as this on which we have entered. We are undertaking to do nothing less than organise the religious forces of the world against the age-long crime and folly of war; rather,—to set those religious forces at the gigantic task of constructing and maintaining an order that shall naturally keep the peace; for we must never forget that the great need of the world is positive, not negative; not to knock war down and drag it out, but to build a world so just, so fair, so filled and motivated by goodwill that war will die out. I find myself going back again and again to Bishop McConnell's simple yet vivid illustration of the prehistoric monsters.

'When I was a boy I used to look with awe at the pictures of prehistoric monsters,—ichthyosaurus, pterodactyl, and the like,' he said. 'I wondered how puny man could ever have rid the earth of such gigantic and powerful creatures. When I grew older, I learned that they were never eliminated by direct attack. *The climate changed, and they died.* It is the business of religion to change the climate, so that some things will die.'

"Facing such a task, we need above all to 'lift up our eyes unto the hills, from whence cometh our help,' to refresh our souls and renew our courage by dwelling on the sources of our strength in the unseen and spiritual. One of the noblest effects in music is the ending of a Bach Chorale movement; solemn, stately, almost oppressive, it moves in minor mode, but at the end it suddenly shifts into a single major common chord. So we should bring our conference to an end on a great common chord of faith, hope and love; of courage and conviction and expectation.

"It is one of those tasks men call impossible to which we have set our hand. Just to achieve our immediate objective is not easy,—to gather a few hundred leading religious specialists to plan together for a peaceful world. But our task reaches far

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out beyond this,—the arousing of the public religious opinion and conviction of the whole world, and making it vocal and dominant in the life of mankind—as the Chairman said, a ‘movement’—; and this in an age that naturally tends to set religion aside as negligible.

“Perhaps we are fools! Perhaps it can’t be done. Well, at least we can see and say that it is one of those great causes in which the worst failure is to be afraid to attempt it. Honestly, I would rather fail in this than fail to try to do it.

“And who knows what may come of it, if we have to? Recall Gill’s picture of ‘the Reformer.’

‘Before the monstrous many he sets him down,  
One man before a stone-walled city of sin.

“The note we strike in this closing moment is that the one essential is that we shall believe and keep working in the line of our beliefs; the rest is in the hands of God.

“I would remind you and myself of what we ever need to remember,—that this objective and enterprise are closely germane to the object of all religions. I cannot speak with authority of other than my own, but, so far as I know, all religions aim at peace and goodwill. It is *central* in the Hindu and Buddhist; expressed by the Moslem as complete submission to the will of God. And that will is a just and good will. Christianity and Judaism teach an overpowering respect for human personality—so governed that men find it easy to seek and find the perfect revelation of God in a human personality.

“Now, war flouts and outrages all these convictions. And so all religions should set themselves against war, as one of their holiest and clearest enterprises.

“Moreover, as never before, everything demands a unity of action, a thorough co-operation. We should see clearly that the great conflict to-day is not between this religion and that; this nation and that; nor even between this *group* and that. The greatest and most significant conflict is between two tempers and attitudes, or ways of looking at the world and life. Hard to name, easy to discern: the believing and unbelieving; the spiritual versus the material; external versus internal; those who trust in the paramouncy, validity and power of things, and

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those who trust in the paramouncy, validity and power of spirit. And, in an age when it is all too easy to be impressed with the value and power of the outward, all who belong to the *blessed company of believers in the spiritual* should come together as closely and effectively as they can, whatever their faith and forms, to exert their full united influence against the forces that deny or ridicule the unseen realities, and trust in outward facts and forces. To remain divided is to be beaten. 'United, we stand; divided, we fall.'

"But, deeper down, less apparent, is another great meaning, or object, or value, in our attempted co-operation and union of forces. My mind dwells on it continually. I see this as a movement to *justify religion to an unbelieving world*. We make great claims for the value and power of religion. The world pushes it aside with scorn or indifference. It says: 'Very well, demonstrate; show that it has power.' Oh, of course, it admits some individual and private value—comfort, steadiness; like art and music, etc.

"But we claim that in religion is the reinforcement the world needs, a power that can save, the renewing and transforming grace that can pull the world out and up.

"Well—show it!

"How better than by showing a world religion, with its various forms and phases, daring unitedly to attack war and put it out of business? Doing something that politics and business have failed to do, yet not apart; but by infusing into political, economic, industrial, racial, cultural, *all* human life a spirit, a grace, a power that makes the task possible of accomplishment?

"We need wisdom, method, hard work, money; all sorts of helps.

"But there is just one great essential, and this is **Faith**.

"Faith, each of us in his own religion; loyalty to it. Let no one yield to the insidious temptation to let our fellowship issue in a diluted religiousness of a general sort, vague and powerless, a 'hazy glow of benevolence o'er varying forms of men's beliefs.' Let each come in and stay in, at white heat of conviction.

"With faith in the sincerity and reality of one another's conviction, not tolerance, but respect, reverence, love. And unitedly

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ever deepening in the spiritual forces in which we trust to empower us in this great enterprise. *This* is the great essential.

'To thrill with the joy of girded men;  
To go on forever, and fail, and go on again;  
And be mauled to the earth, and arise,  
And contend for the shade of a word, and a thing not  
seen with the eyes;  
With the half of a broken hope for a pillow by night  
That somehow the right is the right,  
And the smooth shall bloom from the rough,  
Lord! If that were enough?'

"That *is* enough. Such Faith can do *anything that needs to be done*, whether common sense calls it possible or impossible. Again and again in the history of mankind a few men and women, with nothing but that Faith to depend on, have glorified their Faith and their God by doing what the world said could not be done. Let us highly resolve that that shall be the outcome of our enterprise, through the grace of the Spirit whose children we all are.

"This is the victory by which we overcome, even our Faith."



